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now reflections against the conduct
of L^d C^{...} yet justice done to his great
Capacity, the whole drift seems to
have him resign and only act as Patriot
and not Minister — 75

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C R I T I C A L,
EXPATATORY, and
INTERESTING
A D D R E S S .

Charles F. Johnson

ADDRESS

OF THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

OF THE
UNITED STATES

ADDRESS

Critical, Expiatory, and Interesting

ADDRESS

To a Certain

RIGHT HONOURABLE

APOSTATE,

ON HIS

Present Unaccountable Conduct at this Critical
Juncture ; and on several other Important
and National Affairs.

*Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat ba-
betur.* Juvenal.

L O N D O N :

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Critical, Expatiatory, and
Interesting ADDRESS
to a certain Right Ho-
nourable Ap--st -te, &c.

MY LORD,

WHATEVER Occasion I might have to *apologize* for an *Address* of this Nature, were it directed to any other Person in your Lordship's Station, yet I am thoroughly persuaded from your extraordinary Candour, and most disinterested Patriotism, that I shall need but very little at present; especially, as this Juncture strictly forbids the Silence of any one, that has the least Commiseration for his Fellow-Subjects and Fellow-Sufferers, or beholds the imminent Danger to which his Country is reduced, by the exorbitant Power

B

of

of her open and most inveterate Enemies, the unparalleled Perfidy of her *pretended Friends*, the prevailing Corruption in her *Adm——n*, and the lamentable Degeneracy of her professed *Patriots* and *Guardians*. Who is it, my Lord, at such an extraordinary *Crisis*, that can forbear his Attention to the *publick Calamity*, or refrain from offering such Expedients as occur to his Judgment, for his Country's Preservation? Nay, even supposing that not the least Means or Hopes of Redress should offer themselves to his View, yet what honest Man, what true *Briton* can forbear loudly expatiating on the Multitude of growing Evils, wherewith he finds himself surrounded on every Side?—*Losing Gamesters*, your Lordship *well knows*, are always permitted the Liberty of exclaiming; and, as we have been on that Side, I hope that, amongst others, I may expect the great Indulgence in using that Freedom, never more necessary at this Juncture, when our *All* is at *Stake*.

Happy, my Lord, would it be for this Nation, were the Evils with which she is threatened, and those which she labours under, only such as arise from her foreign Concerns; or the Part that she has taken, by interesting herself with the Powers on the Continent. We might then be in Hopes of having them remedied by a speedy Disengagement

engagement from those Contracts and Alliances that should be found detrimental to her Welfare ; and an End put to our Miseries, by entering upon other Measures than what have hitherto been pursued, and taking different Methods for our Security and Preservation, than those that Experience has so evidently manifested to be wrong. — But, alas ! great as the Weight of our Burden may be on a *foreign* Account, the Afflictions that arise from our *domestic* Grievances are much greater, as they more immediately concern our Prosperity and Happiness, and as those Kingdoms were ever in more Danger, from the iniquitous Schemes and dark Designs of Power, Ambition, and Corruption, than from the most daring Enterprizes of any foreign Foe whatsoever.

No Man that has had the least Regard to those extraordinary Attempts, that have lately been made, and are again revived, for the Destruction of Trade, by impoverishing our Artificers, Manufacturers and Mechanicks, and giving their Bread to *Aliens*, but must be sensibly affected with the pernicious Views, and destructive Practices, of iniquitous Power. Neither can any one, that is in the least acquainted with those calamitous Threats, so dreadful in the main to the very Being and Existence of our present happy Constitution, that have proceeded from some Men in Power,

against the *Liberty of the Press*, avoid being greatly concerned thereat : as this is the most precious of all our Liberties, being the very Bulwark of Right and Property, which must fall to the Ground, whenever this is suffered to be undermined or demolished. In a word, my Lord, *Ambition, Avarice, Rapaciousness* and *Venality* have brought us at length to that pass, as to have our Credit decaying, our Commerce destroyed, and our Liberties endanger'd by the wicked Practices, shameful Misconduct, and flagrant Treachery of those Wretches, that have arbitrarily forced themselves into the Management of Affairs.——

A motley Crew, composed of the most notorious Supporters of *Corruption*, and detestable Relicts of the *old Fathers of Iniquity*, joined to a shameless and mercenary Band of *Prostitutes*, that have infamously deserted the Cause of *Honour* and *Virtue* in the *Day of Trial*, and basely betrayed their *Country* into *Ruin*.———These Men, without the least Genius or Capacity, contrary to the Voice of the Nation, and much against the *Will* of their abused S———n, have insolently intruded themselves into Employment, and arrogantly support themselves in their presumptuous Power, by the mean *Degeneracy*, and iniquitous *Apostacy*, of those abandoned and shameless *Creatures*, that have profligately enlisted into their *corrupt Service*.

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Had these *Imps* of *Power*, that have dared to imprison their R——l M——r, within the narrow Limits of their own *Coalition*, and audaciously seized upon the Reins of Government, been possessed of the least Capacity for the Management of public Business, or the Direction of Political affairs, this Nation could never have been brought to that low and despicable State, in which we have the Misfortune to find it at present. But, they boisterously forced themselves into public Posts, for the sake of *Emolument*, that they were incapable to execute ; and have perversely continued to display their *Non-Abilities*, at the great Expence of the Nation's Honour, Profit, and Welfare.

As they had no *Merit* to recommend them, either to the People's Esteem, or their S-----'s Favour ; so they had no *Character* to risque, by the Conduct of their A—————n. A P————y *Interest*, or rather an absolute Command over the Votes of all the *Custom-house-Officers*, *Excisemen*, and *Smugglers*, in two or three *Maritime* Counties, was the sole Foundation on which they hoped to aspire to the most elevated Stations.———
Thus a corrupt and baneful *Influence* over the Lives and Fortunes of a few *slavish* Dependants, served instead of Virtue, Honour, Experience and Ability, to raise them to the highest *Pinacle* of Power : of which their *Ambition* was no sooner possessed, than they
took

took upon them shamefully to violate, and abridge, the manifest Rights, and undoubted Privileges of their Fellow-Subjects, by infamously proscribing Men of the greatest *Interest, Talents, Honour, Genius* and *Good-Sense*, from any Share in public Employments: investing their despicable Tools and Creatures, with the highest Places and Honours that they could bestow.

They found themselves incumbered with a War, that they knew not how to carry on; and yet neglected the most favourable Opportunities that occurred, for negotiating an honourable Peace: thus, by their Ill-Conduct, the public Money was profusely squandered on bad-concerted *Schemes, expensive Jobs* and *chimerical Expeditions*; and the National Debt was daily increasing to support their Mismanagement. As the lamentable Outcries of the whole Nation, against the Insufficiency of their A———n, and their constant Pursuit of bad Measures, at last awakened their *Reflection* upon their own Abilities; of which though they were strongly prejudiced in Favour, and unwilling to acknowledge any Superiors in *Spirit* and *Judgment*, yet they could not fail discerning, that they had almost worn out the Patience of the People; whose implicit Obedience, and Long-Suffering, were almost at an end. Although they found themselves in this precarious Situation, yet they could not entertain the least
Thoughts

Thoughts of relinquishing those profitable Dignities, of which they were in possession; but rather chose to try the Expedient, of appeasing those whom they had so manifestly injured, by admitting some *Person* of eminent *Virtue* and *Patriotism* into a Share of their iniquitous Power. ——— Your *Lordship's* unblemished conduct, and great *Importance*, together with the *Place* you held, in the sincere *Affection* and *Esteem* of all true Lovers of their Country, rendered you the *Object* of their Wishes; at the same time, as your extraordinary *Endowments*, placed you above their Hopes: especially, as they had always found themselves treated by you, with the utmost *Detestation* and *Contempt*; their Schemes derided, and their Conduct made the *Butt* of your *Ridicule* and *Wit*.

What *Overtures* were previously made, to engage you into a Participation of their Power, or what means were used to reconcile your Lordship to their Conduct, is best known to your own Breast: ——— Whatever they were, they too *fatally* proved effectual, by *seducing* you from the professed Service of your Country, to a mean and *inconsistent* Conformity with those *Measures* that were bringing her into *Destruction*. The Tree of *Power* and *Ambition* was as eagerly grasped at by your Lordship, as that of *Good* and *Evil* by our first Parents; and the Time between your
Temptation

Temptation and Fall, like theirs, was but very short.——No sooner did the *Tempter* offer the inticing *Fruit*, than your Lordship took and did eat: thereby rendering your former *glorious* Actions, and excellent Conduct, subject to *Mortality* and *Oblivion*; which otherwise must have been perpetuated by *Fame*, to the latest Ages. It was then the *Evil-Ones* rejoiced in their *Pandæmonium* for your Lordship's Overthrow; while the *virtuous* Part of Mankind lamented your sudden *Apostacy*, from those Principles of *Patriotism*, that you always professed, and had so arduously maintained, against all *Opponents*, on every Occasion.

I hope that I shall be forgiven by your *Lordship*, for representing this false Step of yours in so glaring a Light: but it is impossible for me to paint it in stronger Colours than what it appears in to the Minds of all Well-wishers to Virtue, and sincere Lovers of their Country. And could I but attain to the Happiness of exhibiting it to your Lordship, in the same Point of View, as it is beheld by all your *former Friends* and *Fellow-Labourers* in their Country's Service, I am thoroughly persuaded that it would have the good Effect, to restore you to that *pristine* State of *Splendor* and *Dignity*, which you have so ill exchanged, for the low acquisitions of *sordid Ambition* and *corrupt Power*.

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The whole World were prodigiously amazed at the Suddenness of your Lordship's *Fall*; neither could they reconcile your present Behaviour, in so ingloriously deserting your *Country*, with your former steady and laudable Conduct, when her *Liberties* were endangered by the late pernicious *Excise-Scheme*; as those People, for whom your Lordship forsook your present *Friends* and *Fellow-Patriots*, and with whom you chose now to associate, were the *notorious* Promoters of that most detestable *Project*.——To what a Height of *Glory* did your Lordship rise, at that time, by opposing the wicked *Minister* in his daring Attempt against the *Liberties* of this Nation; and by so readily and generously sacrificing your *Honours* and *Emolument* to the Integrity of your Conscience and Service of your Country?——To what a low and contemptible Pitch are you reduced, by meanly coinciding with the dirty Tools and wretched Implements of that very *Minister*, whom you then affected so much to despise, and whose Overthrow you so gloriously assisted to compleat? That System of bungling and corrupt Politics, which you derided with so much Contempt in the Principal, you are now labouring to support, by the Assistance that you condescend to afford to his mean and despicable Confederates.

The iniquitous Plan which was at that time laid down by the Father of Corruption, and by him publickly avowed, as highly necessary for the supporting and maintaining of our Constitution, is it not at present pursued with the utmost Ardour, although covertly, in the pernicious Measures and Practices of his Successors? — As he was confident of his own Strength and Ability, and depended upon that enormous Power, which he had so fraudulently acquired by his Male-Practices; so he made no scruple of openly engaging in the Cause of Corruption, and wanted only Length of Time to compleat the Sacrifice of his Country, by reducing it to a thorough Submission to that baleful Influence. But his impotent Associates and Successors perceiving their own want of Capacity and Interest, for the supporting of that infernal Cause, in the same public Manner which their Leader had begun, chose rather to go underhandedly to work, and endeavour to sap and undermine, by the fashionable Arts of Cunning and Treachery, what they found able to resist the utmost of their open Efforts. They made the strongest Professions of Virtue, Honour, and Integrity, with repeated Vows and Protestations for the Service of their Country: when, at the same time, they had the most pernicious Designs in view for compleating her Destruction; and like their dear Friends and present Cotemporaries
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the *D—b* Patriots, they publicly avowed that Interest, which they had privately resolved to *sacrifice*. But what was most amazing to the World, that such a wretched Set of Implements should have the Address to impose on the greatest Politicians, most eminent Statesmen, and professed Patriots : Men that had acquired the utmost Honours and Applause, by their steady Attachment to Virtue ; and to whom STATUES had been erected, for their Services done to the Public. Such was the Subtlety of the Deceivers, that by their Affectation of all that was good and honest, they drew in those unwary, or rather unwilling Professors of Integrity, to assist them in their pernicious Schemes, and veil their corrupt Practices from the Eyes of the World, that was prejudiced in favour of their seduced Associates, and new Fellow-Labourers in Iniquity.

I am sensible, my Lord, that by mentioning the Seducement of those eminent Persons, that have so unfortunately been ensnared by the delusive Arts of these wicked Men, that I shall be taxed with pointing at your Lordship, and another celebrated City-Patriot, that till now had been famous for his Integrity. It would be needless for me to go about to disguise what is so plain, or to deny what is unhappily too true, and, as such, deserves rather to be lamented, than apologized

gized for. It is a Subject, my Lord, that I do not in the least delight to expatiate on, and am sorry that it happens to fall under my Pen at this time. But an inviolable Attachment to Veracity, that I ever esteem as the greatest Qualification in any Writer, obliges me to lay down Matters just as I find them ; and though I have always had the utmost Affection and greatest Respect for your Lordship, yet I had much rather that you should on the present Occasion, be displeased with my Sincerity, than deceived by my Flattery. And though your Lordship may have some latent Design, in this seeming Desertion of the public Cause, or some hidden Meaning in your present pretended Apostacy from your former Principles, which may appear in time to have been designed for the Service of your afflicted Country ; yet till these *Arcana's* are ripe for Divulgement, or that it be your Pleasure to disclose them to the World, till then, your Lordship must be sensible that Mankind will judge according to what offers to their Perception ; and must be contented to make use of Appearances, in determining on Actions, till such time as they can come at Realities for their better Information. And I must beg leave to take this Opportunity of declaring, I do not design to cast the least Censure or Aspersion on your Lordship's high and unblemished Character throughout this Address : neither would I be understood to include
your

your Lordship in any Mention that I have made, or shall make, on the late or present A———n. As I cannot, even yet, persuade myself that your Lordship is to be ranked amongst their Friends or Confederates. Although your too great Confidence in their Integrity may have induced you unwarily to become a Coadjutor in those specious Measures, wherewith they have offered to assist the Public. These I declare, my Lord, are my fixed Sentiments at present ; for the rest of Mankind's, your Lordship well knows that I am not in the least accountable : and though I may be as much concerned as any one, at perceiving your Lordship linked in such bad Company ; yet I have too great an Opinion of your Virtue, Honour, and Integrity, to imagine that their evil Communication can in the least affect those excellent Qualifications, that your Lordship is naturally endued with.

But, to return to my Remarks on your Lordship's new Associates : —The late ever memorable *Patron of Iniquity* daringly made a full Stroke at *Liberty*, by endeavouring to introduce a General Excise : But his present worthy *Successors* and *Imitators* are contented with diminishing that by degrees, which he attempted at once ; and as they have begun by excising of Coach-Wheels, it is hardly to be expected that they will stop their Hands, till they

they have extended it to all those Branches, which the late Projector had included in his general and pernicious Scheme. Indeed, according to the latter, the trading Part of the Nation seemed most affected by that detestable Project: but our present worthy M——rs have boldly levelled the highest Nobleman with the meanest Trader, by subjecting them alike to the Inspection and Determination of that Honourable Board, from whose Decrees there is no Appeal.

The late *Father of Corruption* subjected the Stage to the Power of a Licenser, and his present reigning Confederates design the Liberty of the Press the same Compliment. It was then prognosticated by the Wise, that the Subjection of the one would soon be followed by the Destruction of the other. Tho' I must confess, that if our new Masters persist in absolute Dominion, and that they are to tyrannize over us, as despotically as the Viziers and Bashaws of the East, over the poor *Mahometans*, I cannot see what use we shall have for a Freedom of Writing; as, in that Case, we must expect soon to find an arbitrary Restriction laid upon Free-Thinking, Free-Speaking, and whatever other small Remains of antient Liberty we shall have left.

But

But as I have mentioned the Danger which the Liberty of the Press is so openly threatened with from Men in Power, I must beg leave to remind your Lordship of your excellent Behaviour on a like Occasion : I mean when the Freedom of the Stage was attacked, and the Drama fettered for having made free at that time with some very profligate Characters, as they have appeared to be since. And when the fatal Bill for riveting her Manacles was near passing by the Prevalency of Corruption, almost without Opposition, your Lordship then, to your lasting Praise be it spoken, gloriously condescended to take pity and compassion upon the Helpless. You immediately took the Theatre under your Protection ; and though your Power, at that time, reached no farther than the Commiseration of her Case ; yet you took upon you to plead so well in her Favour, as discountenanced her Oppressors ; and by exerting your extraordinary Talent for Satire, so justly, on that memorable Occasion, you made her Aggressors feel the Sting more sensibly in a *British* Parliament, than ever they had done at either of the Theatres.

But, notwithstanding the boasted Threats of some daring Men at the Helm, or their arduous Endeavours to extirpate the Liberty of the Press ; yet, I shall never be induced to
think

think, that your Lordship will shew the least Favour or Countenance to any such Design. And what farther confirms me in my present Opinion is a Letter that lies before me, said to be written by your Lordship when Ambassador to their *High Mightinesses* at the *Hague* to the *Abbe de la Ville*, the *French* Minister there, concerning the Parliament of *Paris* silencing the *French* News-Writers: wherein your Lordship was pleased to declare your Opinion, “ That this Prohibition of
 “ writing News was grounded in too great
 “ Fear of the *French* News-Writers sending
 “ unwelcome Truths abroad, concerning
 “ their own Country.” And in the Conclusion of your Lordship’s Epistle, I find these very remarkable Words: “ Miserable
 “ sure must the Conduct of that Ministry
 “ be, which must have Recourse to Banishment and the Gallies, to hide their Conduct (I suppose, to avoid Tautology, your
 “ Lordship meant Actions) from the Eyes
 “ of their Fellow-Subjects, and who owe
 “ their own Safety to nothing but the Ignorance of Prince and People.” How justly this Remark suits with the present Behaviour of your Colleagues in Power, I shall leave to your Lordship’s serious Reflection, and the World’s Determination; only taking the Liberty to observe in this Place, that by your present associating and coinciding with those Dregs of Corruption, whose Company
 you

you now so much esteem, and by your unworthy Conformity to their pernicious Measures, you have caused your own Conduct to appear to others in a much more miserable Light than that wherein you viewed the *French Ministry's*, at the Time when your Lordship penn'd the before-mention'd Letter to the *Abbe de la Ville*.

Though your Lordship's Sentiments have always the greatest Weight with me, yet perhaps they may not have the same with others that shall happen to recollect your former Declarations of Odium and Detestation to the corrupt Measures then carried on, and compare them with your Lordship's late Conduct: yet should your Opinion be found variable, according as the Times suited your Temper, or as your Lordship was inclined to either Ambition or Patriotism; even then I have another strong Motive for believing that the *Liberty of the Press* can be in no manner of Danger, while your Lordship enjoys any Share in the Ad———n. And what induces me to be so confident upon this Head, is the Knowledge of your Lordship having so frequently made use of that *Liberty* on several emergent Occasions, greatly to your own Ease and Satisfaction, often for the Entertainment of your Friends and Adherents, and generally, like the Author of the famous *Tale of a Tub*, for the universal Benefit of Mankind.

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As your Lordship has in these several Cases thoroughly experienced the Necessity, the Use, and inestimable Value of this precious Liberty, so you cannot certainly ever entertain the least Thoughts of depriving any of your Fellow-Subjects of that Benefit, by which you have so greatly advantaged yourself, and for which you ever professed the utmost Regard and Esteem. But yet, from your late Proceeding in prosecuting Printers, Hawkers, and Mercuries, to demonstrate your Sincerity to your new Friends, some People in the World may be apt to imagine, that even the *Liberty of the Press* itself might be in danger of becoming a Sacrifice to your Zeal and Attachment for the present Ministry. All that I shall observe farther upon this Head is, the Glory which would redound to your Lordship by defending and preserving this Bulwark of *Right* and *Property* in time of Danger, and securing it to *Posterity*, would be greater than any pecuniary or ambitious Advantage or Emolument whatever that could accrue to you, by tamely and indolently suffering it to be destroyed. This would justly entitle you to the glorious Appellation of *Father of Liberty and Protector of your Country*. For, whatever we may boast, yet when once we are deprived of this Freedom, we may bring all
others,

others, if we can find any remaining, and offer them up on the same Altar whereon the Liberty of the Press has been sacrificed: as without that it will be impossible they should be preserved, whenever a superior Power thinks proper either to attack or destroy them.

And now, my Lord, I must beg leave to touch upon another extraordinary Scheme for attempting our Liberties, which your new Colleagues have thought proper to adopt, at this Juncture; I mean the Naturalization of Foreign Protestants. Though this Project for transplanting Poverty and Slavery from foreign Climes to a free Soil, was brought upon the Anvil last Session without Success, yet it seems our wise M——y have resolved to give it a second Trial; as imagining that it may fare better with the new R——s than it did with their Predecessors, who might perhaps have some Dread upon their Consciences of its affecting their approaching E——s, or else had too much Modesty to go about to solicit the Votes of those Artificers, Mechanicks, and Tradesmen, whose Bread they had just given away to Foreigners.

And here I cannot forbear observing, that they were so intent during the last S——n of P——, upon opening a Door for Strangers, that they forgot to shut that against

vexatious and frivolous Arrests ; whereby many poor labouring Debtors have been cruelly exposed to the Insolencies and Oppressions of unmerciful Usurers, Extortioners, Attorneys and Bailiffs. And many have lost their Lives in a Goal, and their Families been driven to Want, for Debts which they never contracted, or for such as did not merit this rigorous Compensation. The Case of such poor Wretches is too low and miserable for your Lordship to be thoroughly acquainted with ; and I only just hint at it here, to induce your Lordship's Pity and Compassion in their Behalf, by promoting the Bill that is now depending in their Favour, as your Lordship was ever known to be a Friend to the Afflicted.

It is very probable, that it may be your Lordship's Opinion, that the Naturalization of Foreign Protestants would be an effectual Means to restore our foreign Commerce, which we find in a very declining Condition ; as they would work at our Manufactures for less Wages than our own People do at present, and thereby prevent the Commodities we deal in from being underfold at foreign Markets by the *French*, and more especially by our good Neighbours and Allies the *Hollanders* ; for whose Defence we have very much endangered that little Share in the Foreign Trade which their H—h M———es
have

have permitted us to carry on, without being supplanted. But, my Lord, supposing that after these fine cheap Manufacturers are naturalized, yet, from the high Taxes wherewith this Country abounds, not only upon the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, but also upon most Materials for Manufacture, that they should find it impossible to subsist themselves and Families (which I suppose are pretty numerous) on such small Wages and low Profits, or to work up their Manufactures with that little Expence which they did in their own Country : in this Case, my Lord, what must become of our Artificers and Labourers? who by the Height of our Taxes, the Dearness of Provisions and Materials, and by the Importation of Legions of foreign Workmen, will not be able to find sufficient Employment for a quarter of their Number ; especially, as they would find Rivals in every Branch of Business, who if they could get Work even at the same Prices, would much sooner meet with Encouragement, as this Nation has ever been more fond of rewarding the Industry of Foreigners than of our own Natives.

Our Manufactures would certainly be impoverished by a Superabundance of Masters and Journeymen, and even the penurious, industrious, and frugal Foreigners, for Want of Employment, would become a very oppressive Burden to this Nation, as it would
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be impossible for them to furnish Commodities cheaper for Foreign Markets than at present, unless the greatest Part of our Taxes were taken off. Though how we can suffer any Diminution to be made in our Taxes, till the War is over, and some other Means found out for discharging our public Debts, is what, I confess, I am unable to comprehend.

But now, my Lord, supposing that these Foreign Workmen should afford some Relief to our present decaying Commerce, by the extraordinary Cheapness of their Labour, yet, even then, would not our admitting them to enjoy all the Rights, Properties, Privileges, and Immunities of Natives, be selling our Birth-right for a Mess of Pottage? Would these Foreign Tradesmen be content to confine themselves to their respective Business and Employments, without vying with our Natives for any Offices or Posts Civil or Military? Or should we ever have the Misfortune to find the Members of the Privy Council, and of both Houses of Parliament, and consequently the chief Posts in the Army, Law, and the inferior Degrees of Magistracy, filled by Foreigners, or the Offspring of Foreigners, what then does your Lordship imagine would become of our Freedom, or of those Rights and Privileges which our Forefathers have so dearly purchased with Blood? Purchased for whom? Not for their own Children and immediate Descendants,

dants, but for a Set of *Aliens* born in Fetters, and nursed in Slavery, who have suck'd in the Principles of *Passive Obedience* and Non-Resistance with their Mother's Milk ; and having been long educated in a due Submission to Tyranny, it is become so habitual, as to render them incapable of having a true Relish for the Sweets of *Liberty*, much less of having any Heart to defend it, at the least Appearance of its being in Danger.

Your Lordship cannot certainly imagine, that even the *Offspring* of these Foreigners, though born in the *Island of Liberty*, could have the same Ardour for *Freedom*, as those *Britons*, to whom it descends, with the Blood of their *Progenitors*, or to whom a Succession of Ages has made it natural ; neither is it possible for a few Years to eradicate that Propensity to Slavery, which so many Centuries have been establishing, in the Hearts of these *Aliens*.

Amongst the many Subjects of different Nations, which the passing this Bill will fling in upon us, no doubt but we shall have a round Number of *Frenchmen* ; especially as *Provence*, *Languedoc*, the *Cevennes*, and most of the Southern Provinces of *France*, abound in Protestants. Who, my Lord, will venture to declare for the Security of Freedom to our Posterity, when it is to be transmitted

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transmitted to them, through the Hands of a People that have ever been Slaves; and who have, Time out of Mind, been possessed with an inveterate Hatred to all true-born *Englishmen*?—Or which of our professed Admirers of *Exotics*, will be hardy enough to engage for the Sincerity of these People, whom they are about to transplant? I greatly fear, my Lord, that we already abound with too many *Hypocrites* both in *Church* and *State*; and as *Disimulation* is become a Trade, I am under some Apprehension of its being spoiled, as well as others, by the bringing over of foreign Masters, to the great and irreparable Loss of our modern *Patriots*, who perhaps may find themselves out-done in *Hypocrisy*, by some of their new imported *Brethren*.

How unhappy, my Lord, would be our Case if we should be imposed upon by these *new Comers*? If their Love to *English Beef* and *Pudding* should exceed their Ardour for *Protestantism*? or the Hopes of *living better* in this *World*, should influence them more than the strongest *Assurances* from *Luther* or *Calvin* of their Happiness in the next?—Your Lordship would, perhaps, think me too *ludicrous* on this interesting Subject, was I to urge the Danger we might be in of having many *Priests*, *Jesuits*, and other *Popish Emissaries*, imported hither, amongst these

thèse numerous *Fugitives* :—not but your Lordship is sensible, that it is a common Thing to have the *Wolves* disguise themselves in *Sheeps Cloathing*.

But setting the Case, my Lord, that this new imported *Colony* of Manufacturers are all sincere *Protestants*, and not an open or disguised *Papist* amongst them; yet, even then, may not a Love for their native Country that

— *Amor Patriæ ratione valentior omni,*

according to the *Poet*, may it not have a great *Prevalency* and *Sway* over their future Actions, when, perhaps, this Nation shall be in Danger of being oppress'd, or subdued, by some of those Kingdoms, from whence our naturalized Artificers have taken their Flight. If that *France* should at any Time attempt the Invasion of this Island, can your Lordship think that some of those numerous *French* wherewith we shall be stocked, upon passing this Bill, would not be tempted by that strong and impulsive *Amor Patriæ*, so emphatically described in the before-quoted Words, to join their Countrymen upon their Landing? It may be expected, indeed, that the Restraint of Religion, and Tie of Gratitude, would preserve them from any such base Proceeding to our Detriment. But if

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ever our Enemies should make such an Attempt, as it is very reasonable to think that they would be willing to regain that Number of Hands which we shall draw from them, so they would not be sparing in their Promises of Toleration and Indulgences, on that Occasion, to draw over their Countrymen to side with them. Though if this should never happen to be the Case, as it is to be hoped it will not, yet may not some of these Foreign Tradesmen and Manufacturers be prevailed on, after having acquired sufficient Fortunes in this Kingdom, to return to the Place of their Nativity, even tho' it should not be so plentiful as this Island, or that they could not expect to enjoy there so much Freedom as in this Place of abode? I question not but Instances might be found of this kind, if sought for, amongst those Protestant Refugees, which we have here at present.— However, the Thing will appear very probable to any that thoroughly considers the Strength of that Affection which we are apt to bear to our native Country comparatively with any other, tho' endued with a more fruitful Soil, or blessed with a happier Climate, which *Ovid* has so beautifully illustrated in his first Book *de Ponto*, that I shall venture to give your Lordship his Words on the Subject, without any Danger of being accused of Pedantry.

Non

*Non dubia est Ithaci prudentia, sed tamen optat
Fumum de Patriis posse videre focis.*

Nescio quo natale solum dulcedine cunctos

Ducit, & immemores non finit esse sui.

*Quid melius Roma? Scythico quid frigore
pejus?*

Huc tamen ex illa Barbarus urbe fugit.

Cum bene sint clausæ cavea Pandione natæ,

Nititur in Sylvas quæq; redire suas.

Assueti tauri saltus, assueta leones

(Nec feritas illos impedit) antra petunt.

In fine, my Lord, this so much laboured Scheme for naturalizing foreign Protestants, is like to prove very pernicious to what little Commerce we have remaining, by loading our Manufactures with a Super-Abundance of Hands that must necessarily starve each other; it is also very likely to prove destructive to our Liberties, by transferring them to those who know not the right Use or Value of them, and seems pregnant with those terrible Evils which the Prophet *Jeremiah* denounced against the *Jewish* People in these Words,— “ Lo I will
“ bring a Nation upon you from far; a
“ Nation whose Language thou knowest
“ not, neither understandest what they say.
“ They shall eat up thine Harvest, and
“ thy Bread, which thy Sons and thy
“ Daughters should eat: They shall eat up

“ thy Flocks and thine Herds; they shall
 “ eat up thy Vines and thy Fig-Trees; and
 “ shall impoverish thy fenced Cities where-
 “ in thou trustedst.

Having thus given your Lordship a Description of the Company with which you seem at present to associate, and opened to you some of the pernicious Views and destructive Measures in which they are proceeding at this Time; I shall now take the Liberty to intreat your Lordship to reflect a little upon your present Situation, and duly to consider your own Weight and Importance, your high Character and former Conduct, both which are near upon the Point of being very much impaired by your present Proceeding, in persevering to countenance those Men and Measures, which you heretofore so much despised and abominated. And I hope that I have thoroughly evinced to you the evil Tendency of their Designs, so as effectually to secure your Lordship from either joining in or promoting them.

Your Lordship, as a Partaker of their Councils, though not of their Actions, cannot avoid being thoroughly acquainted with the inefficacious Manner in which they prolong the War, and at the same time they are longing for a Peace, had they but the Capacity to negotiate one. But here again they

tremble,

tremble, conscious of their own Weakness and small Skill in political Affairs, lest they should be over-reached by some of their subtle Neighbours, (who have their own Interests peculiarly at heart) and thereby become not only the Dupes of *Europe*, but perhaps the Victims of an enraged People, whom they may too much offend by some weak and arbitrary Concessions, or who may become provoked on finding, at length, that their Blood and Treasure has been profusely squandered, without being able to attain the least Benefit therefrom.

It is this Terror, my Lord, for their own Safety, and not the Nation's, that makes them continue a War, which is every Campaign attended with worse Success than the former, in hopes that some happy Incident will at length arise, to terminate it more to our Advantage than what any of their projected Measures is able to obtain; as they well know, that they shall be more exposed to the Fury of the People, from their bad Conduct in negotiating an ignoble Peace, than in carrying on an unsuccessful War; the Nation in general being better Judges of the Advantages or Disadvantages of the one, than of the Management or Mismanagement of the other. And although undeniable Experience has evidently demonstrated to them the Necessity and Benefit of carrying on the War
rather

rather by Sea than Land ; yet they seem obstinately bent upon the latter, contrary to their own Conviction, and the general Sense of the rest of the Kingdom.

I am thoroughly sensible, notwithstanding outward Appearances, that your Lordship must needs be very much dejected, though perhaps not dispirited, at the unaccountable Conduct of your Brother M——rs : and however the World may censure your present Condescension, in assisting these bungling Architects to support that heavy System of Politics, which, without your Aid, would be certainly overthrown by its own Weight, and crush the Builders by its Fall ; yet, my Lord, even in this crazy Situation of Affairs, I cannot forbear congratulating my Country on the Happiness she in some measure enjoys, and which may serve to alleviate her Ills, by having you placed at the Helm, and endeavouring to steer her almost foundered Bark, through that raging and tempestuous Sea of Troubles, into which she has been guided by the Unskilfulness of her former Pilots. What an extensive Prospect would it afford our Hopes, could we have the Felicity of viewing the Management of public Affairs vested solely in your Lordship ! The whole World is thoroughly sensible of your extraordinary Genius and Abilities ; and was the Helm of Government trusted entirely to your Direction,

Europe

Europe might then expect to see a Foundation laid for a lasting Peace; and *Great Britain* might indulge herself with the pleasing Thoughts of having Commerce and Plenty restored, and seeing Liberty and Learning again flourish, under your auspicious Patronage. But what is it that prevents the Completion of this much desired Happiness? Surely not the Want of Patriotism in your Lordship, who was ever ardent in your Country's Service; nor yet the Want of Courage to enter upon so important a Station, for the Benefit of your Fellow-Subjects. What then can be the Occasion of our being deprived of that Felicity, which there would be the greatest Reason to expect under your Lordship's Administration? Can it be owing to any thing but to an over-and-above Complaisance, which your Lordship at present affects, in your Department to those that have assumed to themselves the Management of Affairs; although at the same time you cannot be ignorant of your own Importance and Superiority? But at this Time, when you chuse rather to act in Conjunction with your new Associates, than to preside over them, it is our great Misfortune to have your Lordship's Talents and Vivacity loaded with the dead Weight of a whole Cabal; whereby your extraordinary Spirit and Judgment is overpowered by Numbers, and rendered subservient

servient to their destructive Measures, rather than to your Country's Benefit.

Your Lordship cannot certainly fail of perceiving, that their Designs and Measures are all formed on the same Model and Plan as was introduced by their Director the late long reigning and over-grown Minister; under whose Tuition most of the present Undertakers learn'd the Arts of Corruption, and became Proficients in Iniquity: and, as I have before manifested to your Lordship, the same pernicious Scheme of Power is throughout pursued by the present ruling Tools of the late Minister, their Dupes and Converts, as what he established; with this Difference only, that their Expedients are not so thoroughly open, so extensive, nor so availing. Their old Preceptor had only his own Avarice and Ambition to gratify, and his own private Interest to accommodate; but the Views, Interests, and exorbitant Desires of the Coalition, are so many, so various and undistinguished, as must render the most prudent and specious of their Measures and Undertakings of no Effect. As the presumptuous Designs of the Builders of *Babel* was providentially destroy'd, by their Confusion of Tongues; so, we are in hopes, the iniquitous Projects of the present Corruptors will be brought to nought by the Discordance of their Councils, and the Disunion of their Interests: for
such

such is the Confusion amongst these Fellow-Labourers in Corruption, that where the private Interest of one calls for Brick, to establish the Fabrick, it suits the Emolument of another to furnish only Mortar for carrying on the Work.

But what is most particularly surprising to the whole World, that your Lordship never offered to assist the Ministry, or co-operate with them, during the Time that a certain Right Honourable Patriot, and able Minister, was amongst them. Had your Lordship coincided with them at that Juncture, or had graciously afforded that eminent Statesman and Politician, whom the Managers had prevailed upon to supervise their Measures, your then much-wanted Assistance, he might, perhaps, have been able to execute those great Plans, and well-concerted efficacious Designs which he at that Time laid down, and which have been since found prevalent, maugre the Want of Spirit and Address in his Successors, into whose Management they fell. Had your Lordship agreed to share the Power with that able Minister, rather than have condescended to accept of that small Part which his Successors are at present pleased to allot you, by your united Superiority, you might have been able together to over-balance that Weight, which unfortunately for the Nation

(as has since manifestly appeared) thrust him out of the Cabinet.

Your Lordship cannot fail of being better acquainted with that great Man's Abilities, than it is in my Power to describe them; as you had such signal Opportunities of seeing them exerted on several Occasions; and as your Lordship had been long engaged with him, in the noble Cause of Patriotism, and zealous Defence of the Liberties of your Country, against the virulent Attacks of the late prime Minister. And even now your Lordship cannot be insensible that the present A——n support themselves, by adapting his wise and prudent Designs to their own Purposes: but how long they will be able to make use of them, or with what Success, Time alone must discover. Happy for them if, by out-running the Stock he has left them, they are not obliged at last to become Bankrupts, and involve their Country into the Calamity, by her trusting too much to their boasted Strength and Credit.

Britain, my Lord, in the midst of her greatest Indigencies and Distress, seems to want nothing more peculiarly at present, than a Man of a true political Genius, Ardour, and Spirit to manage her Affairs: and where can we find a more proper Person, at this Juncture, than your
 Lordship?

Lordship? who displayed so eminently those excellent Talents you are possessed with, in the Government of *Ireland*, and that at a most dangerous, troublesome, and critical Time.

It is evident, my Lord, to the Eyes of all Mankind, that was your Lordship to forbear co-operating with the present Ministry, and leave their Councils unassisted by your extraordinary Genius, they would be no longer able to subsist themselves, but immediately fall into an inevitable Destruction: yet, although your Lordship, by their delusive Arts, may be trick'd into a Compliance with some of their Proceedings, you can certainly never be brought to act such an inconsistent Part with your former Principles and Professions, as to afford the least Concession or Encouragement to those most pernicious Designs of theirs, which I have before pointed out to your Lordship, and which are so manifestly calculated to erase the very Foundation of our Liberties.

When the artful and mischievous Faction had invited that eminent Statesman, whom I before mentioned, to be a Partaker of their Power, and deceived him by their specious Promises to condescend to an Acceptance thereof, in what an opprobrious manner did

they behave to him? They were thoroughly sensible of his confessed Abilities, Interest, and Importance, which they had the Sorrow to perceive, in a short time, so wholly engross their R——l M———'s Favour and Patronage, as to diminish their former Splendour, and deprive them of that Plenitude of Power, which they had so long arrogantly assumed to themselves, and hitherto enjoyed without the least Danger or Molestation. As their proud Spirits could not submit to receive Law from him whom they had just permitted to a Taste of their Power, or to a Partnership in their Dealings; so they knew no other Way to extricate themselves out of their Difficulties, or prevent the Rise of this great Genius and able Minister, than either by dispossessing him of his Master's Favour, or rendering his Designs displeasing to the People. But such was the distinguishing Penetration of the R——l Person, that they found the former was impossible, and the latter almost impracticable. However, as they were bent upon his Destruction, so they spared for no Pains by themselves, their Emisaries, Tools, and Dependants, to possess the People with numerous Fears of their Liberties being in Danger, by the arbitrary Power, and encroaching Designs, of the new Prime Minister; whe, as they artfully insinuated
amongst

amongst the credulous Multitude, was about to take greater Steps, and to run much greater Lengths than his long-lived Predecessor durst pretend to.

Though this was asserted in all public Places with the greatest Air of Confidence, yet it could not meet with universal Credit; the distinguishing Part of Mankind were too sensible of the extraordinary Capacity, Honour, and Virtue of this Nobleman, to think him capable of harbouring any such pernicious Designs, as were imputed to him by these Creatures of Power; and were too much possessed in favour of his Abilities and long Perseverance in the Cause of Patriotism, to believe him susceptible of this sudden Change, or to credit his entertaining any Thoughts destructive to that Liberty which he had so long and so openly avowed the Defence of.

As the distressed Cabal found their Delusions would not prevail with the People, in prejudice to this great Man, they took a Resolution to muster up all the Power, and united Force, of themselves, their Friends, Tools, Confederates, Descendants and Relations, which being assembled in a Body, they immediately, without the least Reserve, Awe, or Regard, boldly force themselves into the

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the Presence, and surround the R——l Person; and by their audacious Threats, flattering Intreaties, and specious Promises, prevail upon him to depose this noble and truly great Minister, whom they found so obstructive to the Promotion of their pernicious Designs and corrupt Measures. Having thus in this insolent and insulting Manner excluded this able Man from their S———n's Presence, they immediately shut up all the Passages of Virtue and Honour against Men of Genius, Honesty, and Experience; resolving to keep the Government in their own destructive polluted Hands, and under their own confused and unequal Dispensation. Such was the Arrogancy of their Behaviour to a Man of the greatest Parts, whose Wisdom and Conduct had in a great measure upheld their Administration, from that Contempt wherein it must otherwise have fallen, and to which it would now sink, was it not for your Lordship's interposing in its Favour.

After such insolent, unparallelled, and ungrateful Proceedings, I shall leave your Lordship to reflect on what Usage you may expect from the Hands of this Band, when their present Turn is served, or if ever you should attempt to interrupt their Measures,
or

or contradict their Designs, through your Lordship's Zeal for the good of your Country.

And to what oppressive Miseries, my Lord, may we not be reduced by the unhappy and mischievous Conduct of these Arch-Blunderers in Politics? These despicable Tools of State! and wretched Implements of Power! that substitute their own private Self-Interest instead of the Nation's Advantage. But how afflicted would the virtuous Part of Mankind be, if ever they should find your Lordship innocently involved in their Guilt, by only participating of their Company? Better were it by far, that you should resign these Miscreants to their destin'd Perdition, than to plunge your self into Obloquy, or incur the least Degree of Odium on their Account. There is an old Adage that cannot be unknown to your Lordship, by which, though not always certain, Mankind are too apt to form their Judgments. I think it is expressed in these Words, *Shew me your Company, and I'll tell you what you are.* Now although your Lordship's natural good Sense, and unsullied Virtue, may preserve you from being at all tainted with the Imperfections of your Associates, and that we may safely venture to affirm of you, that though amongst them, you are not one of them: yet, my Lord,

it

it would certainly afford much more Pleasure to all your Friends and Well-Wishers, to see you enter into a Renunciation both of their Measures and Company ; as the World will otherwise be inclined to conjecture, that as long as you have a Share of the one, you cannot forbear approving the other.

And here, my Lord, my sincere Veneration and Respect for your Lordship's Person and Character, joined to my Zeal for the Welfare of *Great-Britain*, obliges me again to call upon you to consider your present *Julian* State ; and canvass in your own Mind, the Figure that your present seeming Apostacy from your former Principles and Conduct, causes you to appear in to the Eyes of the World. Let the Groans of your once-beloved Country, that like a tender Mother has reared you to that Strength which you at present enjoy, have some Effect on your Pity and Compassion towards Her ; and suffer her Tears to reclaim you from that Degeneracy into which you seem to have so lamentably fallen ; and restore you to your pristine Dignity and Splendor, by re-establishing you in the good Opinion of all Lovers of Integrity and Virtue. In a word, my Lord, be yourself once more ; and assume again that Freedom,

dom of which you seem to be deprived by the galling Chains of Ambition and Power: Exchange not Honour for Grandeur, nor Patriotism for Dependency: Knock off your Golden Fetters, and appear again with that true Freedom which is so natural to you, and so beautifully described by your old Acquaintance and Favourite *Horace*, in the seventh Satire of his second Book, in this manner :

*Quis nam igitur liber ? Sapiens sibi que
imperiosus,*

*Qui neque pauperies, neque mors, neque
vincula terret :*

*Responsere cupidinibus, contemnere honores,
Fortis, et in seipso totus teres, atque ro-
tundus*

*Externi ne quid valeat per leve morari,
In quem manca ruit semper fortuna.*

Which Lines I would willingly recommend not only to your Lordship's private Perusal in your Chamber, but also to your public Practice on the Stage of the World.

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Consider,

Consider, my Lord, that the Eyes of all Mankind are riveted on your present unaccountable Conduct: And, as you have shuffled yourself so far into the Pack, that you can't avoid mixing with the Court-Cards, e'en take the Lead.——Begin the Game afresh; and if the Knaves don't chuse to follow Suit, why then cast them out from the rest.

In a word, my Lord, this must be your Play at last; and the sooner it is begun the better: not only for the Preservation of your Honour, but even for your Safety; which may be in some Danger, if ever you should chance to be entrapped in the Company of Delinquents.

But if your Lordship cannot bring over your new Associates to your former Principles, nor they will not submit to your taking the Lead; then remember, that

*When Vice prevails, and impious Men bear
Sway,
The Post of Honour is—a private Station.*

In

In which all true Lovers of their Country, and steady Adherents to Virtue, Honour, and Integrity, heartily wish to see your Lordship seated, rather than in the highest Post that Fortune or Royal Favour could bestow, in these degenerate, corrupt, and iniquitous Times.

F I N I S.

The first of these is the fact that the
 law of the land is not a mere
 collection of rules and regulations, but
 a system of principles which govern
 the conduct of the citizen. The law
 is not a mere collection of rules and
 regulations, but a system of principles
 which govern the conduct of the citizen.

A. I. N. I. C.







